Cover

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EDITED BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
LIBRARIAN.

No. 4.

PIETAS ET GRATULATIO.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SEVERAL PIECES.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY.

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Already issued:

1. EDWARD S. HOLDEN. Index-Catalogue of Books and Memoirs on the Transits of Mercury.
2. JUSTIN WINSOR. Shakespeare's Poems: a Bibliography of the Earlier Editions.
3. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Principal books relating to the Life and Works of Michel Angelo, with Notes.
4. JUSTIN WINSOR. Pietas et Gratulatio. An Inquiry into the authorship of the several pieces.

PIETAS ET GRATULATIO.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SEVERAL PIECES.

By · Justin Winsor, *Librarian of the University.*

In 1760, while Holyoke was President of Harvard College, George the Second died, and George the Third succeeded to the throne. A few months later, at the instigation of Francis Bernard, the newly arrived royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, who was desirous of having its principal institution of learning follow the example of the English Universities, the succeeding notice was posted in the College Chapel, Saturday, March 14, 1761: —

"Proposal,

for a celebration of the Death of the late King, and the accession of his present Majesty, by members of Harvard College: —

"Six guineas are given for a prize, of a guinea each, to the author of the best composition of the following several kinds: —

"1. A Latin Oration.
"2. A Latin poem in hexameters.
"3. A Latin Elegy in hexameters and pentameters.
"4. A Latin ode.
"5. An English poem in long verse.
"6. An English ode.

"Other Compositions, beside those that obtain the prizes, that are most deserving, will be taken particular notice of.

"The Candidates are to be all gentlemen, who are now members of said College, or have taken a degree within seven years.

"Any Candidate may deliver two or more Compositions of different kinds; but not more than one of the same kind.

"That gentlemen may be more encouraged to try their talents upon this occasion, it is proposed that the names of the Candidates shall be kept secret, except those who shall be adjudged to deserve the prizes, or to have particular notice taken of their Compositions, and even these shall be kept secret if desired.

"For this purpose, such Candidate is desired to send his Composition to the President, on, or before, the first day of July next, subscribed at the bottom with a feigned name or motto, and, in a distinct paper, to write his own name and seal it up, writing the feigned name or motto on the outside. None of the sealed papers containing the real names will be opened except those that are adjudged to obtain the prizes or to deserve particular notice; the rest will be burned sealed."

It does not appear how far all the conditions of this call were met; but from the offerings was gleaned at least a part of the contributions to a volume which was in typography the handsomest specimen of the art as yet produced in the Colonies. It was in quarto, 116 pages, and the title read: —

Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos. Bostoni-Massachusettensium Typis J. Green & J. Russell. MDCCLXI.

The date of publication seems to have been put back a year, since it was published under a vote of the Corporation, Jan. 5, 1762, which directed "that the Collection in Prose and Verse in several Languages compos'd by some of the Members of the College, at the Motion of his Excy, our Governr, Francis Bernard, Esqe, On Occasion of the Death of his late Majesty, & the accession of his present Majesty, King George the Third, be printed; and that his Excy be desired to send, if he shall judge it proper, a copy of the same to Gr. Britain, to be presented to his Majesty, in the Name of the Corporation."

Bernard, as Governor, had a seat at the board of Overseers, and it is uncertain whether he or Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson composed the dedication to the King, which, notwithstanding the terms of the vote above quoted, is the only prose contribution in the volume. President Quincy, speaking of this address, says: "Its style and turn of thought indicate the politician rather than the student, and savor of the senate chamber more than of the Academy." In May, 1763, Jasper Mauduit, the Agent of the Province in London, mentions "the presentation to his Majesty of the book of verses from the College;" but nothing is known of any expression of acknowledgment on the part of the King. A copy, for which the claim was made that it was the one sent to the King, was No. 926 in the Odell Sale Catalogue, New York, 1878, Part I.; it had G. Rex surmounted with a crown, stamped on the back in six places. An ornament of some kind had been cut out on both sides of the cover. There were no marks of authorship attached to any of the pieces. A copy mentioned, No. 1767, in *The Catalogue of the American Library of the late Mr. George Brinley*, First Part, 1879, is described as bound in "old red morocco, sides with broad gilt borders, and the royal arms in the centre" Mr. Brinley had written in it: "This is one of the very few copies on thick paper, intended for presentation to the Royal Family." Another copy with a similar claim is marked **N** in the following list.

It is said that copies on thicker paper were sent to England for the members of the Royal Family, and very likely entrusted to the care of Thomas Hollis, to be suitably bound, since the copy now in the "King's Collection" in the British Museum — the library of George III., transferred by George IV. to that repository — bears in the ornament representing Britannia, an impression from a die which Hollis seems to have had cut for his own use, and a number of books presented by Hollis to the College Library bear this same device on their covers. Of this copy, Mr. G. W. Porter, the Assistant Keeper of the Printed Books in the Museum library, writes to me as follows, — mentioning other copies at the same time: "We have three copies of the book in the Museum,— one in George the Third's library; one presented in 1763 by Thomas Hollis, Esq.; and one purchased in a collection of tracts. None of them, however, have any inscription or any mark whatever. The King's copy is a fine, tall one, handsomely bound in red morocco, having the royal arms on the sides, and the figure of Britannia. surmounted by a star, in each of the panels at the back. The arms and ornaments differ from those usually employed in the King's library, and in all probability the book was presented bound. It may very likely have been the one voted by the Corporation of the College."

President Holyoke also sent a copy to this same Thomas Hollis, in London, the well-known friend and benefactor of the College, and his letter and Hollis's reply are preserved in the Memoirs of Hollis, p. 101, under date Sept. 25, 1762. Holyoke calls it "an attempt of several young gentlemen here with us, and educated in this College, to show their pious sorrow on account of the death of our late glorious King, their attachment to his royal house, the joy they have in the accession of his present majesty to the British throne, and in the prospect they have of the happiness of Britain from the Royal Progeny which they hope for from his alliance with the illustrious house of Mechlenburg."

The Greek type used in Nos. 15, 16, and 18, was, according to Thomas, History of Printing, 1874, vol. i., p. 63, the gift of Hollis to the College about 1718. This was the only time it was used, and the font was destroyed on January 24th, 1764, when Harvard Hall and the Library were burned.

The *Monthly Review* for July, 1763, p. 22, in an extended and considerate notice of the book, says that the collection had not been advertised for sale in London, but that the *Review* had been favored with a copy of it; and closes its article as follows: "It must be acknowledged, after all, that this New England Collection, like other public offerings of the same kind, contains many indifferent performances; but these, though they cannot so well be excused when they come from ancient and established seats of learning, may, at least, be connived at here; and what we could not endure from an illustrious University, we can easily pardon in an infant Seminary."

The *Critical Review*, for October, 1763, p. 289, speaks of the contributions as "not distinguished by the writers' names, like the verses from our own Universities." Referring to the prophecy of America's future rank in letters, embodied in Governor Bernard's EPILOGUS, the reviewer closes: "We wish this prophecy may, and have great reason to expect that it will, be fulfilled in due time, as the verses from Harvard College seem already to bid fair for a rivalship with the productions of Cam and Isis."

The closing contribution of Governor Bernard deserves remembrance for its merits as well as for the prophecy: —

> Isis et CAMUS placide fluentes,
> Qua novem fastos celebrant sorores
> Deferunt Vatum pretiosa REGI
> Dona BRITANNO.
>
> Audit haec Flumen, prope Bostonenses
> Quod NOVANGLORUM studiis dicatas
> Abluit sedes, eademque sperat
> Munera ferre.
>
> Obstat huic Phoebus, chorus omnis obstat
> Virginum; frustra officiosa pensum
> Tentat insuetum indocilis ferire
> Plectra juventus.
>
> Attamen, si quid studium placendi,
> Si valent quidquam Pietas Fidesque
> Civica, omnino rudis haud peribit
> Gratia Musae.
>
> Quin erit tempus, cupidi augurantur
> Vana ni Vates, sua cum NOVANGLIS
> Grandius quoddam meliusque carmen
> Chorda sonabit:
>
> Dum regit mundum occiduum BRITANNUS,
> Et suas artes, sua jura terris
> Dat novis, nullis cohibenda metis
> Regna capessens;
>
> Dum DEUS, pendens agitationes
> Gentium, fluxo moderatur orbi,
> Passus humanum genus hic perire,
> Hic renovari.

In some of the copies, a slip of paper, inserted at the end, mentions three verbal or literal errors on pp. 10, 24, and 43, and adds: "The last stanza of p. 72 [No. xxi.], in some copies, to be corrected thus: —

> "Lucidos currus per aperta coeli
> Phoebus impellens, nec Avo videbat
> Clariorem; nec, nisi per Nepotem,
> Viderit unquam."

In all three of the College library copies this stanza reads in this corrected way; but in the Belknap copy (Boston Public Library), it reads: —

> "Lucidos currus per aperta coeli
> Phoebus impellens, videt haud Georgo
> Clariorem; nec, nisi per Nepotes,
> Viderit unquam."

In the following list of the contributions to the volume, the names of the supposed authors are given, and after them certain letters, which indicate the authorities, according to this key: —

A[1] Monthly Anthology, Boston, June 1809, p. 422. An article written by Alexander H. Everett, who says the names "are mostly taken" from the Sewall copy, "and as he [Sewall] was, at the time when they were written, a member of College, and wrote several of them himself, are probably correct."

A[2] Monthly Anthology, July, 1809, p. 67. In which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Deane of Portland, the only contributor then surviving, amends the list in the June number.

A[3] This same number, p. 67, also contains an anonymous note, dated July 13, 1809, on the subject with a partial list.

B. Dr. Jeremy Belknap's copy, bearing his autograph and the date 1762, given in 1859 by his daughter, Elizabeth Belknap, to the Boston Public Library, where it now is. It has marginal notes by Belknap, and names appended to most of the pieces.

E. A copy formerly owned by Prof. McKean, bought at the sale of his library by the Rev. Mr. Greenwood, and after his death purchased by the late George Ticknor, and given by him to Mr. Dowse (according to a memorandum, made by Prof.

C. E. Norton, from Mr. Ticknor's information, about 1844); but such a copy is not now in the Dowse Collection of the Mass. Historical Society. The assignment of names is made on the authority of the Rev. Dr. John Eliot, as appears from a note by Prof. McKean, in the copy: "The writers, as I have been informed by one well conversant with our civil and literary history, and as a scholar ranking first in the very first class (Dr. Eliot), were as follows:" A copy in Harvard College library, bound with others, given in 1853 by Epes S. Dixwell, Esq., seemingly once the property of Dr. Eliot, for it has his autograph on the fly-leaf, has no annotations whatever.

E^2 A copy in a volume of Tracts, given to the Harvard College Library by Samuel A. Eliot in 1845, this particular copy bearing the name on the title, "Samuel Eliot, 1762." The names at the end of the several pieces, and other notes seem to be in the same hand, and the names correspond in such way to those given in the Belknap copy that it is evident the information came from the same source. One of the notes, common to both copies, is curious. In No. xi., p. 35, is this couplet, —

> "Here he restrain'd the Indian's thirst of gore,
> And bid the murd'rous tomax drink no more."

Against *tomax* is written, "Compounded of tomahawk and ax."

The connection of the Belknap and Eliot families was near. Belknap a few years later (1767) married Ruth, the sister of this Samuel Eliot, who was the founder of the Eliot professorship, and who became a prominent merchant in Boston. He was cousin of the Rev. John Eliot, named under **E**. Samuel Eliot was the grandfather of President Eliot.

H. A copy in Harvard College Library, which seems to have been specially bound as a memorial. In it has been inserted by the late Librarian, T. W. Harris, 1836, a transcript of the "Proposal," and an "Index" of the writers, made out by the Rev. Dr. T. M. Harris, "as I was told," says Prof. Norton's memorandum, "by his son, Dr. T. W. Harris." In a few instances, the writing is in pencil, perhaps later, and these are indicated by an asterisk, **H***. Harris owned the Sewall copy.

L A copy in the possession of the Rev. Robert Lowell of Schenectady, grandson of the writer of no. vii., who says the assignments of authorship in it are "apparently in the handwriting of my great-grandfather, Rev. John Lowell, of Newbury, Class of 1721." This graduate died in 1767, and was the father of the contributor of no. vii.

M. The Massachusetts Historical Society's copy, with names in pencil in a late hand, apparently following some earlier authority, and corresponding in some respects with the copy **H**. The early proceedings of the Society show that this copy was given to it by Dr. Belknap in 1791.

N. A copy in the New York Historical Society, which being bound in morocco, gilt leaves, with the Royal arms stamped on the cover, and the bookplate of Carlton House Library within, is held to be the one presented to the King. It contains only two assignments of authorship, nos. xi. and xvi.

S. A copy marked by Prof. Stephen Sewall, one of the contributors, and given by him to the late Dr. T. M. Harris, who, in a letter to Mr. Ticknor, calls Sewall "the most accomplished Classical Scholar of the day, which our College or Country could boast."

P. A copy bearing on the fly-leaf, in President Holyoke's hand, "Edvardi Holyoke Liber;" beneath which a further inscription points out the present owner, — "Illius, Universitatis Harvardianæ Præsidis clarissimi, nepos, Fredericus Henricus Hedge, Amico suo, antiquitatum Nov-Angliæ cultori perdocto, Georgio E. Ellis, S.T.D." The authors' names are given in the President's hand at the end of some of the pieces.

W. A copy which belonged to Prof. John Winthrop, and was subsequently owned by the late George Ticknor; but those marked **W***. are written, in that copy, in another hand than Winthrop's.

*** If a point of interrogation (?) follows a letter, it signifies that the authority thus given expresses a doubt on the point.

List of Pieces.

To the King. *Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson*, **S. W.** *Gov. Francis Bernard*, **E. H*. L.** It is said, erroneously in **A**^{1} that the Sewall copy gives it to Bernard. Eliot, in his Biog. Dictionary, gives it to Hutchinson, who had graduated at Harvard in 1727, and was now about fifty years old. Bernard, who took his degree at Oxford in 1736, had arrived in the Province in August, 1760, and was about three years the junior of the lieutenant-governor.

I. Adhortatio Præsidis. *Gov. Francis Bernard*, **E. W.** *President Edward Holyoke*, **A**^{1} **A**^{2} **B. E**^{2} **H***?. **L. M**?. **S**. The *Monthly Review* ascribes it to "The President." A. H. Everett adds, "President Holyoke was then very old, and his Adhortatio is said to have been corrected by master Lovell."

Holyoke was now seventy-two years old, and died in office seven years later. He had graduated in 1705.

II. Ad præcellentissimum provinciæ prefectum. *Master John Lovell*, **A**^{1} **A**^{2} **E. H. M**?. **S. W.** *J. Taylor*, **B. E**^{2} **L.** The *Monthly Review* says it "seems to have been written" by Holyoke.

Lovell was at this time the head-master of the Latin School in Boston, and was now fifty-one years old, having graduated in 1728. The other claimant was probably the Joseph Taylor of the Class of 1765 (died 1816); in which case he was a freshman at the time, aged fifteen years. The Lowell copy gives the name in full, "Mr. Jos. Taylor."

III. Cum roseis quondam Dea, etc. *Stephen Sewall*, **A**^{1} **A**^{2} **E. H. L. M. P. S. W.**

Sewall had just graduated at the age of thirty, having fitted himself for college at the joiner's bench. He became tutor in Hebrew in 1762.

IV. Are Monarchs then such unimportant things, etc. *Dr. Benjamin Church*, **H. M.**

Church had graduated in 1754 at the age of twenty, and was now acquiring reputation in Boston as a surgeon.

V. Of Cypress deign, Celestial Muse, to sing. *Stephen Sewall*, **A**^{1} **A**^{2} **B. E. E**^{2} **H. L. M. P. W.**

VI. Cum Britonum Regem, etc. *Gov. Francis Bernard*, **E. H. M. W.**

VII. While thro' the British world, etc. *John Lowell of Newbury*, **A**^{1} **A**^{2} **B. E. E**^{2} **H. M. P. S. W.** A. H. Everett adds, "afterwards LL.D. and A.A.S., member of Congress, and judge successively of the Court of Appeals, District Court, and Circuit Court of the United States." The *Monthly Review* held that these verses, "though said to be written by a youthful son of Harvard, are allowed to be nervous, and we cannot but congratulate the College on so promising a pupil."

Lowell had graduated in 1760. He was the grandfather of Prof. James Russell Lowell, and of the Rev. Robert Lowell. The late Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell added to the Lowell copy, against his ancestor's name in the list, "Æt. 17."

VIII. CUM REX SCIRET AVUM, etc. *James Bowdoin*, **A². E. H. W.** *Francis Bernard*, **B.** (giving it "F. B. esq.").

Bowdoin was at this time sixteen years out of college, and had graduated at eighteen in 1745. His prominence as an opponent of ministerial measures, subsequently incurred the displeasure of Bernard, who a few years after they were thus associated together, negatived him as a Councillor, in 1769.

IX. PROXIMUS A PRIMO, etc. *James Bowdoin*, **E. H. W.** *Francis Bernard*, **B.** (giving it "F. B., esq.").

X. HARK! — TO WHAT MELANCHOLY SOUND. *Rev. Samuel Deane, Portland*, **A¹. A². B. E. E². H. L. M. P. S. W.** Cf. Willis's Portland, p. 655.

XI. WHERE THICK-EMBOW'RING SHADES. *Dr. Benjamin Church*, **A¹. A². B. E. E². H. L. M. N. S.** *Peter Oliver, esq.*, **W.** The *Critical Review* calls this much the best of the English poems.

Judge Oliver, at this time on the Supreme Bench, had graduated in 1730, and was now forty-eight years old.

XII. QUID SIBI VULT, etc. *Stephen Sewall*, **A¹. E. H. L. M. P. S. W.**

XIII. AS, ON HER WHITE-CLIFT, SEA-GIRT SHORE. *Rev. Samuel Cooper*, **A¹. E. H. M. S. W.** *Peter Oliver*, **B. E².** A. H. Everett adds, "a species of measure generally unsuccessful in English poetry, lyric verse without rhyme."

Cooper was at this time thirty-six years old, and had graduated eighteen years before (1743). He was now settled over the Brattle Street Church in Boston, and got his doctorate, which gave him the title he is usually known by, in 1767, from the University of Edinburgh.

XIV. DEBILI TENTURA VIAM VOLATA. *Stephen Sewall*, **A¹. E. H. M. S. W*.**

XV. 'ΕΛΕΓΕΪΟΝ. *Stephen Sewall*, **A¹. B. E. E². H. L. M. P. S. W.**

XVI. 'ῼΔΗ. *Stephen Sewall.* **A¹. B. E. E². H. L. M. N. P. S. W.**

XVII. HAIL KINDRED SPIRIT! *James Bowdoin*, **A².** **A²** says "J. B., esq." **B. E. E². H. L. M. P.** says "Tho't to be Mr. Bowdoin." **S. W.**

XVIII. 'ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ. *Gov. Bernard*, **A¹. B. E. E². H. L. M. P. S. W.**

XIX. EPITAPHIUM. *Gov. Bernard*, **A¹. A². B. E. E². H. L. M. P. S. W.**

XX. EPITAPH. *Gov. Bernard*, **A¹? B. E. E². H. M. S. W.**

XXI. IN REGIS INAUGURATIONEM. **H*. M.** Each with a pencil note, which reads, "By *Dr. Deane* of Portland, then Butler in College, on authority of Dr. Weed, class of 1800 and Rev. Dr. Nichols." The Odell Catalogue assigns it to *Gov. Francis Bernard*. Cf. *Historical Magazine*, ii. 281; and Willis's *Memoir of Samuel Deane*, prefixed to his *Diary*, p. 290. See also no. x.

Deane had graduated in 1760 at eighteen, and was at this time the Librarian of the College.

XXII. DUM VARIAS GRATIS, etc. ***This is not assigned in any of the lists.***

XXIII. QUEM VIRUM MAVULT, etc. *Stephen Sewall.* **A¹. A². B. E. E². H. L. M. P. S. W.**

XXIV. EPITHALAMIUM. ***This is not assigned in any of the lists.***

XXV. GEORGE GAVE THE WORD. *Master J. Lovell*, **A¹. E. H. M. S. W*.**

XXVI. DUM SERVAT STELLAS. *Master John Lovell*, **A². A². B. E². L. W.** *Prof. John Winthrop*, **A¹. E. H. M. S.** A. H. Everett adds "It has more to recommend it, than mere elegance and purity of expression, — the usual acme of modern Latin poetry; the thoughts are ingenious and happy."

Winthrop was the Hollis professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the College. He was born in 1714, and had graduated nearly thirty years before this.

XXVII. WHILE HALLEY VIEWS THE HEAVENS. *Master John Lovell*, **A². A². B. E². L. W.** *Prof. John Winthrop*, **A¹. E. H. M. S.** A. H. Everett says "The English translation," of No. xxvi., "is not much inferior to the Latin."

XXVIII. SOME SERAPH TOUCH THE SACRED LYRE! *Rev. Samuel Cooper*, **E. H. M. W*.** A. H. Everett gives it to Dr. C. from "internal evidence."

XXIX. THO' FROM THY HAPPY SHORES. *Stephen Sewall*, **A². B. E². L. P. W.** *Peter Oliver*, **E. H. M?.** (In the **H.** record *Peter* is in pencil.) *Thomas Oliver*, **A¹. M?. S.**

Thomas, of a different family from Peter Oliver, was born 1734, graduated 1753, and became subsequently the last of the line of royal lieutenant governors.

XXX. THO' WEALTH AND POWER. *James Bowdoin.* **A²** says "J. B., esq." **B. E². H*. L. M.**

XXXI. EPILOGUS. *Gov. Francis Bernard*, **A¹. E. H. M. S. W.**